

These rooms, opening on the front of the house along the corridor, do not run the full length of the house. A fourth, a back room, running across the back part may open on to the kitchen. Sometimes this room is only roughly finished and used for storage or sleeping purposes or both. A grandmother often takes the grandchildren (other than the infant) to bed with her in this room.

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The kitchen is set off from the rest of the house by being on a lower level, perhaps one step. The kitchen usually has a hard dirt floor. Occasionally it is cemented. Sometimes it has a chimney, sometimes a hole in the side of the wall, which the curious smoke rejects in favor of a leisurely diffusion throughout the other rooms of the house. The kitchen is not part of the house in the sense that the other rooms are. The shoes are not removed when entering it. The kitchen opens out on to a stone or dirt path. Women frequently still eat in the kitchen because of its convenience and the need of going in and out to get water, or to wash vegetables, or to get food from the shed during the preparation of a meal.

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The stove is basically an open hearth with a hole at the top for the cooking pan. There is also a hole directly below this into which the fuel can be placed. More elaborate stoves may have three tiers: one for the cooking, one for putting the fuel in, the lower for the ashes. The most simple, in the very poorest houses, are little more than a circular group of stones laid on the ground built up so that a pan can be placed on top. The most elaborate, made of stone, might run across the width of the kitchen and have several openings. Fuel, such as odd branches, sticks of firewood brought from the northern (Kunigami) region, crushed and dried sugar cane, or miscanthus grass of varying length is put part way into the fire and pushed further in as the ends are burned off.

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The all stone house is smaller than the wooden house. It invariably has a tile roof, for those able to afford the stone can also buy the tile. The stone blocks used in house construction are usually about nine feet by one foot on the edge.⁶ The stones used as posts are buried two feet in the ground leaving seven feet for the upright. These blocks, called ishibashida when used for house construction, have the same width and breadth; they can be cut to any desired length to even off the sides. The stones are layed like bricks with mortar to form the walls of the house. The all stone house is not common, and is usually seen in the south, where the stone is quarried, in Minatogawa, and in adjacent villages. These houses are more modern, and often bathing facilities are built in. The stone house has the advantage of being cool in summer, warm in winter.

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Finally, there are the simple structures, resembling shacks or shanties more than houses. These are, as one would expect, more frequent in the areas of the war's operations. There are three main varieties, though the combinations are numerous: (1) the all grass house, now uncommon. The sides of this wattled house are usually of

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⁶ Actually they are 9 x 1 x 1 shaku. A shaku is 0.994 feet.

Japanese canned fish: mackerel, bonito, clams, whale meat hash
Noodles, buckwheat spaghetti and macaroni type pastes
Cookies, stored in glass jars, and sold singly
Sweet rolls (manju) from a town bakery, and sweetened bread (pan)

Tea
All no moto
White sugar
Soy bean oil

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Soft Drinks and Candy

Bottled lemon and orange ades
Cocoa Cola

Cum

Various candies sold by the piece, also stored in glass jars on the counter.

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Notions

Needles and thread
Buttons of various sizes
Trimings and ribbons
Braids for making and trimming kimonos
hair pins, and combs

[412]

Clothing

Clogs (gata)
Undershirts
Fibre sandals

[291]

Toilet Articles

Perfumes and toilet waters
Shampoos, liquid and powdered,
Pomades and brilliantines
Toothbrushes
Soaps
Toilet paper

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[515]

Stationery

School tablets and notebooks
Pencils
Comic books (in Japanese)

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Medicines

Aspirin
Stomach powders
Eye lotions

[278]

Present day clothing is of a non-descript character. The war destroyed old stocks and villagers have been unable to buy much new clothing. Many farmers and fishermen have one western style suit, shirt, necktie, and a pair of shoes, but these are worn only on rare occasions, such as having one's picture taken. Most of the women still have a Japanese style kimono in storage. An article of army clothing, mostly American but occasionally Japanese, often is the basic garment whether it be a pair of trousers, a shirt, or a field jacket. Older women still wear a cheap cotton kimono usually indigo blue with white dots.

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In work anything at hand is worn. Fishermen, farmers, workers in the forest generally go barefoot the year round. Girls and young married women are increasingly wearing cheap and attractive house dresses which they prefer to the inconvenient kimono. Children's clothing shows similar improvisation in the use of what is available.

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In leisure hours, clogs (gata) are often worn by men, women, and children, particularly in the evenings as a protection against snakes. Some men wear shoes consistently, but they are most commonly worn by officials, school teachers, or men in business.

There is no standard headdress. Hats are few. A few cone shaped hats are worn in the rice fields. These are made from straw or rush. An ordinary cotton cap with a visor is common. Men and women frequently wrap a cloth, usually a piece of towelling, around the head. A towel hanging from the back pocket of the trousers of a young man is part of his summer equipment.

5

Laundering and Bathing

Laundering is done by women. There are no set customs about doing it. Neither is it a community affair. In Hanashiro those who have wells do their laundry in their own compound. Those without wells either do it at a neighbor's well (without charge), or at one of the community ponds designated for this purpose. In Matsuda, the small stream, a pond, or wells are also used.

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Clothes are rubbed, washed, and rinsed by hand. The custom practiced in Matsuda up to 30 years ago of beating clothes against stones has disappeared. If laundering is done in a spring or small stream in the summer, it is common to take a bath after the washing is done. In Minatogawa, the women collect around an open faucet, or the public water tank. These are in continuous use for laundry, hair washing, and washing vegetables.

The passion for bathing, conspicuous among the fastidious Japanese, is less in evidence in these villages. But it is also difficult to bathe. Villagers must content themselves with washing with a cloth, like a sponge bath. In Hanashiro villagers may go to

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the Japanese style public bath at Minatogawa. There are separate rooms for men and women. The body is soaped; then the soap is washed off. One gets into the hot watertub to soak. In this arrangement, all the advantages lie with the first comers. In the winter, the Minatogawans use their public bath houses. But in the summer, they soap themselves thoroughly and rinse off under a public faucet, keeping on a pair of shorts or a light skirt, depending on sex. In Matsuda, an outside tub is frequently used. This is bullet shaped, about three feet in diameter and about the same depth. Generally it has a rudely constructed roof. The bath water, not so hot as the Japanese like it, is only moderately warm.

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In family tub bathing, there is an order in which the bath is taken. Guests are first, followed by the head of the house, then by other males in order such as first, second, or third sons, and finally the women of the house, starting with the eldest. Many people in Matsuda go, usually about once a week, to the neighboring village of Ginoza for their bath.

6

Hair Styles

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In the days of the old kingdom, men and boys wore the hair long. A patch on the crown was shaved, and the long glossy hair was gathered on all sides and made into a tight knot and pinned with two hair pins. Satow mentions that between the ages of 16 and 19 the ceremony of gambutsu took place. The central part of the head was shaven, and the long hair was then put up. According to this author, the custom dated back two centuries.² Various oils were used on the long hair to keep it in place. This hair dress for men and boys was described by Basil Hall in 1816; Commodore Perry's staff made similar observations, and the reports of Furness (1896) and Simon (1910) indicated that there had been no changes in the style.

The cutting of men's hair is said to have begun about 40 years ago. While some thought the Japanese forced this, it seems to have been done voluntarily. A high school principal, now in his late forties, told me of his childhood remembrance of crying at seeing his young father willingly shearing off his own long and luxuriant hair.

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The clipped (marugari) head for young boys is a Japanese introduction. It was required for health reasons by the Japanese school teachers. The clipped cut, for young boys, has persisted, and it is

² Satow, E. M. Notes on Loosho: Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, 1 (1882), 1-8.

593 The husband or father is not a tyrant. Nevertheless the wife is unlikely to challenge her husband directly on any important matter. If she is scolded, she may continue with her work in silence, ignoring her husband.

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197 Women who have lived abroad in places like Hawaii or who have experienced the metropolitan life of Japanese cities are more likely to be dissatisfied. Occasionally one meets a woman who thinks this is a man's world (otoko no tenka) and that women should have more privileges than they now have. This attitude has been sharpened through American influences, directly by contact with American soldiers and civilians, indirectly by discussions which appear in Japanese periodicals of the life of American women. How widely this attitude exists is difficult to say, though I believe that at present (January 1952) it is not a strong force among women in the villages.

562 Though her place is at home, the woman is by no means removed from the wider aspects of village life. She may take an active part in the Women's Association. She may handle the family money or part of it. She may operate a little store to supplement her husband's income from the fields, or if she is a widow, to provide for her own support. She may participate in mutual loan groups. And she may be the head of a household.

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Public Health

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751 The people of the villages are conscious of health and sanitation, an awareness gained under the Japanese. This awareness and desire for cleanliness and sanitation meet major obstacles in the lack of running water, the distance to public baths, the expense and trouble (or both) of heating quantities of water, the cost of soap, the poorness of the outdoor toilets especially in the devastated areas.

An analysis of village health problems requires the specialized knowledge of the physician or doctor of public health. The observations of a layman however may have some interest.

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364 The general sanitary conditions are not good. The weak spots are (1) Poor outdoor toilets and their haphazard location with relation to wells. (2) The dirty and smoky Okinawan kitchen. Many have dirt floors and little effort is made to keep them clean. The situation is better with the stone floor or cemented kitchen. Women complain about smoke smarting and injuring their eyes. All of the rooms of an Okinawan house, especially in winter, are likely to be very smoky around meal times. (3) Food preparation and dishwashing are often done in dirty surroundings. Foods are fried or boiled, and this is all to the good. In making tea, the water is seldom boiled; more often it is only brought to a boil or allowed to get hot.

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[515] blame tooth decay on the brown sugar. It may be diet or water. Use of tooth brushes varies considerably with individuals and families. Okinawans

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511 The standard of cleanliness in Okinawan homes is not high, but this cannot be ascribed to indifference. One should constantly bear in mind that it is easy to keep clean with plenty of soap, showers, hot running water, washing machines, and flush toilets.

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Native Medicine

278 The native medicine has already been referred to in the discussion of fish and wild plants used as medicines. Their use has declined with growing reliance on manufactured drugs and pharmaceuticals.

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[59] The golden needle (kinburi) is still used by rural doctors (yabu) in the treatment of inflammations of the joints and rheumatism. There was one such doctor in Minatogawa, but ordinarily he is called only when real medical attention is not available.

[413] The needle is scarcely thicker than a horse hair. It is encased in a shaft about 2 3/8 inches long. The grip or base of the needle is 3/4 of an inch long and the needle itself 1 7/8 inches. The needle is tapped and gradually worked into the affected part, and a length from 3/4 to one inch is broken off and allowed to remain in the body and circulate to effect its curative powers.

Blood letting is still practiced, often by the individual himself. Thin cuts are made with a razor, generally on the forehead above the eyebrows and slanting toward the bridge of the nose. This is done to relieve headaches and general pains and may be resorted to after aspirin has failed to relieve a headache. On a close look, one can often observe the slight, thin, long scars, which look like tiny wrinkles, resulting from these slashes. During the operation, a sake cup is held up to the place being cut. The cup may even have a little sake in it. When done by a native doctor, the blood may be sucked through a small tube and allowed to drip into a sake cup.

Cauterization using mogusa (moxa) also is still common. One can frequently see scar tissue, the results of burning mogusa on the flesh, usually in the area around the wrist. Mogusa is applied with glowing charcoal sticks, burning thread, or tobacco. It is used for no specific complaint, but as a counter-irritant cureall for a wide variety of ailments.

[386] Acupuncture apparently is little used now. Formerly an area was pricked with a needle, or a series of needles brought to a point, and an indigo dye applied. One can observe these round spots, circles of dots, occasionally on the shoulders and the backs of older people. These should not be confused with tattooing.

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an empty oxygen bottle with a wooden inallet to mark the time. The noon bell tells people in the fields and mountains that it is time for the midday meal and helps those who have a clock to compare the time. The evening bell indicates that it is time to end the day. School-children do not need a clock, since they get up early in the morning and go to school soon after, knowing that they are probably early. For most adults, daylight and sun position are enough to tell the approximate hour of the day. Some take arrival and departure of the bus, four times a day, as a point of orientation.

Old women are the first to rise in the morning. Long before dawn during the winter, or with the first light of the summer day, they get up and start a fire to boil sweet potatoes and heat the soybean soup. Blue smoke rising through the thatched roof into the early morning sky indicates that life in the village has begun. Children soon awake. The door is pushed open and a sleepy child appears to urinate off the edge of the house. Men are the last to rise. Considering the effect of the sake which they may have consumed on the preceding evening, it is remarkable that they are able to wake up so soon. By 6:30 the sleepest person has risen.

The addition of outer clothes to the underclothing in which most people sleep is simple. Cold water splashed over the face and a quick turn at the toothbrush is all the toilet needed to begin a new day.

The task of folding comforters and taking down the mosquito net falls to one of the older children or to the mother. Older children and young girls help to carry water from the tank, the first task that has to be done after getting up. After breakfast, women feed the pigs. By about 7 o'clock everybody is ready for work. On a good day people leave for the mountains or start toward their fields—schoolchildren are on their way, too.

By 8 o'clock, except during very poor weather, the village is left to the old people and young children. Little boys and girls hang around, waiting for kindergarten to start at 9 o'clock. Play begins for them after they leave the house in the morning and does not end until evening.

For men and women, the routine of work in fields and forests is prescribed by seasonal activities which demand their special attention, but there are daily chores, such as digging potatoes, picking vegetables, and collecting feed for the animals and firewood for cooking. Only a few men who go to the mountains, taking their midday meal along, are away all day. The rest come and go during the day from the rice paddies, potato fields, or forests, so that there is repeated contact between children and their parents. A young child, even if left in the

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[262] care of an older sibling or the kindergarten teacher, therefore has a chance to see the mother. Men and women who have gone to the mountains return with their first load of wood around 10 o'clock. The mother will return again around noon and prepare the midday meal: noodle soup, fried cabbage with dried shrimps, perhaps rice, and always sweet potatoes. After lunch there is a short rest period. During the hot summer months this rest extends to an hour or more, and on the hottest days people lie in their houses sleeping during the noon hours. Midday is also a time for social interaction. There is some visiting back and forth. Old people always seek each other's company, and younger ones back from the fields or forest may join them for a while.

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515 Toward evening blue smoke indicates again that food is being prepared. Pigs are fed by the women in late afternoon. Then women, young girls, or boys fill water buckets and carry them home. After 5 there is a heavy run on the tank or faucets, and this is often the time when families start preparing a bath. It takes until dark to warm up an oil drum filled with water and heated underneath by scraps of wood and twigs. People take their bath after dark. Since the bath house was destroyed during the war, ablutions take place outside near the tank under a faucet or in an old oil drum in one's backyard.

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[238] Young men who return from the mountains wash their horses in the sea. The women who sell fish call on each house at this hour to peddle their wares. The village store, which has only seen a few customers in the morning and during noon, now has its busiest hour. Mothers send their children to buy noodles, kerosene, rice, or seaweed or else they come themselves, a baby on their back or the toddlers following them.

[889] This is also the hour when the young men and women gather to do joint work in the fields of their association or to play volleyball on the playground. Meanwhile, all forest workers have returned and busily cut the last pieces of firewood, bundling them before the store clerk comes along to buy the load. Some adults sit near the playground and watch the children.

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264 Work goes on until dark. Only then do families gather for the evening meal. During the summer this may be as late as 8 o'clock. For many families this is the only time during the day when everybody gathers in the family circle. At this time family affairs may be discussed and plans made for the next day's work or other pending matters.

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264 The evening meal consists of rice, a bean paste or noodle soup, and some fish. Meat is served occasionally if a goat is killed or on holidays when someone has slaughtered a pig. Most families cannot afford to buy more than small portions of meat, which are fried or made into

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872 express one's creativeness except in perfecting and improvising song-
876 dance performances. Lacking paper and crayons or paint, children
crouch to the ground with the teacher to trace "pictures" in the sandy
ground with their fingers or small sticks. The beach provides a rich
playground on days when the teacher suffers laryngitis as a result of a
cold and is unable to lead songs and direct the play verbally. Collect-
ing shells, learning their names, examining washed up bits of seaweed
and fish, exploring exposed stretches of rivers at low tide are real les-
sons in nature for the kindergarten child as he discovers these things
himself and experiments without the direction of formal lessons. If he
desires more information about things, he is free to ask the teacher;
if he does not, no pressure is put on him to learn and know.

872 The kindergarten phase is a happy one for the child. Under the
857 direction of the teacher, who may be the mother or sister of one of his
[875] peers, he passes the two hours, from 9:30 to 11:30, of the morning, then
goes on to play in and around the village for the rest of the day. He
runs home only when he is hungry or when it is mealtime. And he
hurries back to rejoin his peers for free play for the rest of the day.

857 Adults put little restriction on children's movement. They are free
[576] to occupy any part of the home and run around at will. Before enter-
[515] ing the house, everyone takes off his shoes; a rag lies on the ground to
[291] wipe dirty feet. Few children spend any length of time indoors, how-
ever, during daylight hours. If weather forces them to stay inside, they
are found either in one of the front rooms or in the cooking area to the
back.

855 Despite the occasional motor vehicle traffic through the village,
867 adults show little concern, for the kindergarten child has been well
exposed to rules of safety in this respect. At the sound of warning
horns, children run to the side of the main road and into the yards.
The few brazen little boys who dare to chase vehicles and attempt to
hang on to the rear bumper are severely reprimanded by those nearby.

A 4-year-old boy who had run out of the way of a lumbering truck
stood watching as it rounded the curve and entered the village. Adults
waiting for the vehicle to pass chatted idly and scanned the passengers
to see if there were any familiar faces. Suddenly the 4-year-old leaned
forward and threw a small branch he had in his hand under the tires
of the passing truck. At once the driver, passengers, and by-standers
screamed. "Fool one!" The passengers waved a warning finger at him,
and he was berated by the village adults standing with him. "That
was a dangerous thing to do. If you do that another time, you will be
taken to the police station!" they threatened. The boy looked down
at the ground and nodded to acknowledge his wrongdoing.

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practice of allowing the child to eliminate wherever he chooses is necessitated by the structure of the outhouse, a concrete tank covered with a slotted wooden board or loose planks. [863 514]

Girls may go pantless until they are completely toilet trained but must wear dresses. Since clothing distinguishes those who have been toilet trained, girls proudly compare bright printed panties while boys sport nondescript short pants. Untrained boys wear short shirts or cotton kimonos in summer or flannel ones in the winter. [291]

Accidental wetting of pants and bedwetting do not present much of a problem to parents. Children, however, appear to be embarrassed in such situations. Mothers claim they do not scold or shame the children. It seems to be more of a threat to the child, who realizes his newly gained status and recognizes the accident as infantile behavior. A few children, ranging from 4 to 11, suffer from enuresis. An 11-year-old, according to the mother, wakes himself and rinses out his wet clothing without waking anyone else. She felt that he was suffering enough and so refrained from saying anything about it.

As seen in the description of the kindergarten session, constant pressure is placed on the child to keep himself clean. A mother seeing a dirty child will laughingly tell him to go sleep with the rats. There is a nasal affliction which is common among children up until the age of 8. Whereas the mother or grandmother tends the infant, sucking the mucus out of his nose, they do not aid the weaned child. During the preschool years, the child, with a well-practiced movement of the arm, smears the discharge over half his face, onto his kimono or shirt sleeves, or wipes it impatiently with his grimy hands. The resulting appearance prompts others to tease, "Dirty faced cat," or to question sincerely, "Did the rat walk over your face?" It seems, however, that boys are less interested in cleanliness and tolerate dirty and unkemptness for a longer period of time than girls. By the time they are 3 years old, girls are conscious of their appearance, but this may be because they frequently accompany older girls to the wells and rivers when laundering is being done. As it was the usual procedure to end the task with washing heads and delousing, the girls were less soiled than the boys at this age. Five- and 6-year-old girls are praised for going to the well or river to wash their own clothing and heads if they go with older children. If they go alone, they are severely scolded and punished. When the faucets were installed in the village, 4-year-old girls assiduously tended to their grooming, spurred on by the praise and admiration of adults. Girls may be punished, on the other hand, for using too much soap or washing too often. One mother complained that her 8-year-old girl used to be such a stickler for cleanliness and [863 515 854 296]

863 good grooming but was at present always a mess. One of us was present at the home one day when a group of younger girls came by to call the 8-year-old to accompany them to the river to wash their heads. The girl dashed around the house and yard searching for a nonexistent bar of soap and finally was crossly told by her mother that there was none and that she really did not need washing. Nevertheless, the girl gathered some hibiscus leaves, which she tore and mashed to extract a slimy, soapylike substance, and left with the other girls to wash her hair. Regular bathing between the age of 1 and 5 is sporadic. During [857] the summer it is more frequent, for the older children take their younger siblings to the rivers for bathing and swimming.

At irregular intervals during the winter young children are bathed behind the house, near the kitchen doorway, by their mothers or older sisters. A little hot water added to the cold eases their discomfort. During the holiday season mothers and older girls were observed dragging and carrying screaming 2- to 4-year-olds to the bath.

864 As children get older, exposure of genitals is much less serious in the case of a boy than in the case of a girl. Little girls are told to sit like their mothers with their legs together and are never permitted to expose their genitals. This is true even for those young girls who are still without pants. Occasionally boys tease a little girl by shouting, "Your vagina is showing." Sexual manipulation between children, either homosexually or heterosexually, was never observed. The following observation illustrates the response of an older sibling to her 1-year-old sister, who attempts to imitate a urinating boy.

A group of girls were playing with a ball and K. (4-year-old boy) came along. The girls objected to his presence and began to chase him away. K. then reached in his fly and brought out his penis. He began to urinate, pointing his penis up at the girls. The girls screamed and scattered to get out of reach of the urine. K. chased them briefly, urinating all the while, then stopped to finish. Just as he finished, M. (4-year-old girl), lifting the front of her dress, started to urinate in a standing position. Halfway done, she started to squat, but before she started to squat, her sister saw what was happening and yelled out in an angry voice, "M!" . . . then she went over to give the little girl a slap on the head.

Exhibitionism between boys occurs, and a urinating demonstration among boys with an erection is occasionally seen. Such behavior is not condoned by adults. Girls, however, almost always urinate alone at a short distance from the group. Children are shamed if one refers to their genitals as they approach school age. The separation between boys and girls, which increases with greater age, also discourages mutual play or sex experimentation.

855 There are few other demands made of the kindergarten child. He
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857 fun of it, but few signs of involvement with attaining outstanding per-
 526 formance. Losers are not teased or ridiculed, although a good per-
 [157] former is occasionally given an encouraging remark by others who
 practice.

Group games are usually played after the schoolchildren have re-
 turned to the village. One of the popular games is a version of prison-
 er's base similar to that played in the United States. This game is
 played with much yelling, laughing, and noisy challenging. Equally
 popular is a version of "kick the can." This game is exciting and fast
 moving. It is a game which can lead to arguments, since one must trust
 the honesty of the person who is "it" and claims to have seen another
 player. Brief arguments arise and are quickly settled. Part of the fun
 seems to be teasing and challenging the tagger.

535 These are games that children may play on any day in the year.
 857 During holidays they are sometimes asked to entertain adults with
 [527] dances. Little girls learn the traditional Okinawan dances from kinder-
 [871] garten days on, either by watching or by coaching of an older person,
 a friend, one's older sister, or mother. Neither kindergarten nor school
 programs include the teaching of such rich Okinawan heritage as clas-
 sical dances. Boys do not begin to imitate the burlesque dances of their
 male elders until adolescence. But they are sometimes invited, together
 with girls, to present group dances or little plays for the adults. Adults
 seem to enjoy most the performances of Okinawan dances by little
 girls who may have learned the rhythm and movements but not the
 restraint of serious adult presentations. They are delighted if a 6-year-
 old, dressed in bright-colored costume, innocently wiggles her hips in
 a rather suggestive way.

857 Children who perform for adults show no stage fright. At school,
 [156] where little sketches are presented on the stage, there is a complete
 ease in improvising. Nobody is embarrassed if he forgets a line, a song,
 or a cue, and the recitation contests which we have already mentioned
 are carried out with much zest.

[512] Schoolchildren are supposed to remain at home after 8 o'clock in
 the evening to do their studies. This rule is encouraged by the school
 but rarely enforced by parents. Many children, boys and girls, appear
 outside after dark, and on moonlight nights they often resume their
 playing. Off and on, a couple of elementary schoolboys are attracted
 to the store where the village truck arrives with goods from the city
 after nightfall. There they stand in the dim yellow light of the kero-
 sene lamp, watching, helping, or just listening to some of the men who
 come to have their sake bottles filled. If a bath has been prepared for
 their families, their turn will come sometime after the older males in

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the household have had theirs. By 10 o'clock children have finally disappeared from the street and paths.

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Ventilation at night may be poor; the sliding doors are usually tightly shut and locked. In larger towns and cities this practice may be explained as due to the prevalence of thieves, but in the country there must be another reason; it is probably the fear of yanakaji or of the kijimuna. The first, yanakaji, literally "bad winds", are ghosts, who may cause illness. The kijimuna is a sea-being or tree-being who causes a frightening but harmless sensation of smothering and weight on the chest. These creatures may enter through open doors or windows. According to one informant their entry might be prevented by setting up a butcher knife in the opening but I have not seen it done. (It could only be done for a window; in a door it would be dangerous to the human occupants.)

In spite of their sleeping with relatively little change in position while in bed, Okinawans seem to be able to fall asleep in a variety of positions and circumstances, in busses and on trucks, in the midst of family activities, with noise and bright lights apparently presenting no obstacles. This ability may be the result of the early experience of sleeping under all sorts of conditions while being carried on the mother's back. There are two restrictions to sleeping. All avoid sleeping with the head oriented west, because that is the way a corpse is oriented. The other is that girls and women must avoid sleeping with the legs separated. Lebra observed one grandmother give her little granddaughter a hard pinch on the thigh for this.

Okinawans recognize that sleep is essential to maintaining the body. After a restless night one may say that he "had insufficient sleep". It has been asserted that the Japanese regard sleep as a luxury rather than as a necessity. This cannot be said of the Okinawans.

• 515 Cleanliness

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In care of the body, the Okinawans are among the cleanlier of the world's peoples. They bathe frequently, keep their nails clean by constant trimming, their teeth clean by prolonged morning brushing, and their hair neatly cut or dressed. But they are not as cleanly as the Japanese or at least as the urban Japanese. One reason why they bathe less frequently is that baths are simply less available. Many villages are without public baths. Most farmers must either pour cold water over themselves at their wells or a little hot water warmed in the kitchen. In villages where there are few wells the water must be carried. Another factor may be modesty; nudity is not taken for granted as in Japan, so that one does not strip nude at the well in the daytime. A third factor may be the lack of such highly-developed concepts of ceremonial purity and pollution as exist in Japan. There are no tabus on the activities of menstruating women on Okinawa as there are in Japan, for example.

291 Nudity

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Pre-school children often play nude. Mothers sometimes appear to be displaying little boys nude to demonstrate their masculinity. Photographs of naked baby boys are popular. Boys may continue to swim nude until eight or so, but girls begin to put on some garment for swimming sooner. Women nurse in public and sometimes work at home with the breasts uncovered. Adults of both sexes may urinate in public, but in such a way that the body may not be seen. Adults do not appear publicly or privately before one another nude. Public bath houses have separate sections for men

and women. Two informants who had lived in Japan denied having ever heard of public baths with mixed bathing. Okinawans have occasionally been shocked by seeing Americans nude. Okinawans feel that not only should the lower part of the torso be covered for the sake of modesty but the upper part also should be covered, if one is out of doors, for reasons of health; the sun's rays are harmful if too strong. Modesty may even reach proportions uncommon in the West; one young man told Lebra that he does not enjoy going swimming because he believes he is too hairy. The same young man told how he and other boys, when in high school, used to peep through a crack in the bathhouse wall in order to see the women bathing on the other side, until they were chased away by the proprietor. This hardly suggests the casual attitude toward nudity reported for the Japanese.

Body Ornamentation The Okinawans seem never to have practiced any sort of body mutilation---such as the Chinese foot-binding. However, women were tattooed on the wrists and backs of the hands until early in this century. Most women over 50 have tattooed hands. There are several stories told that purport to explain the origin of the practice---that it was to prevent Okinawan women from being kidnapped, for example---but these stories are of doubtful value. The designs have names but evidently no meaning; one old woman said that they varied with the tattoo artist, who put on whatever he wanted. Tattooing was done before puberty and marriage. It may have originally been part of a puberty rite.

Many people of both sexes between the ages of 20 and 40 have elaborate gold and silver work on their teeth. In many cases the work does not consist of fillings or bridges but of thin caps put over sound teeth for purely ornamental reasons. These can be removed without harming the teeth. People are said to be having this sort of work done today, but in time the value Americans and present-day Japanese put on "natural-looking" teeth may win out over the urge to ornament the mouth. Of course there is also a great deal genuine dental work done because of tooth decay.

At present American values and modern Japanese values in feminine beauty are being spread by the beauty parlors. For several years the permanent wave has been popular though perhaps not well suited to Mongoloid hair. And recently a number of young women are said to have added padded brassieres to their equipment.

Elimination Urination and defecation are regarded differently. Urination in public is permissible for males, if they turn away. I have seen a dignified old gentleman talking over his shoulder to a young woman while he urinated into the ditch. Women may also urinate in public, though they do so less frequently. Defecation in public is not usual; even children are scolded for it though they may occasionally do it. Feces ought to be in the proper place; one reason for using the toilet may be that the "night-soil" is used as fertilizer.

The Okinawan term *kusu* is used rather more freely than its Japanese cognate, though the uses are parallel. Alone it means "feces", human or animal. It is the usual word for animal manure. In compounds it may mean

had complained to the police about this but the police had said that this was a mental disorder and therefore not their affair. The disregard shown the young boys in this case accords with Okinawan attitudes toward children discussed elsewhere; they are not developed enough, perhaps, to be corruptible. Another example is that of a male employee of a 'ryōtei' in another city who is in the habit of putting on a woman's kimono and wig and singing in a falsetto voice for the amusement of male guests. He is not known to "take guests" but is very effeminate in his ordinary manner. School girls are said to form strong attachments to one another, but there is no indication of the persistence of such relationships.

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The terms for the sex organs, *tani*, "penis", and *hoo*, "vulva", are used rather freely by older persons, but children are expected to use them only for serious purposes. It is said that if children used the terms repeatedly in joking they might be scolded for "dirty talk". An old woman once told me, in the presence of several younger women and a twelve-year-old girl, an amusing story about an old woman who always sat with her kimono pulled up and was therefore called "*Hoo-Hai Ayaa*", "Mother Vulva-Visible". Everyone laughed but the girl, who looked rather embarrassed. After the battle in 1945 when American food was issued in quantities, Okinawans became familiar with wiener sausages, which they still remember with relish as *tani-guan*, "little penises". As in Japanese, the word for sexual relations is formed by adding the verb "to do" to the word for vulva. This term would not be used before children or in polite conversation.

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2. Sanitation

An American, watching the habits of daily living of an Okinawan family, may find his first impression to be one of shock. In the morning the sliding doors that kept out any fresh air all night are pushed open and the children, dressed in the underclothes they have slept in, walk sleepily to the step and urinate off it. Father steps down and walks a few feet around the side of the house and does the same. Grandmother is already in the kitchen preparing breakfast and smoke soon fills the upper air in the main part of the house, looking for a way out in the absence of a chimney. Father goes to the well with a small towel around his neck, throws cold water over his face, and washes it with a little soap. He then brushes his teeth long and hard and puts the family toothbrush back on the hook for Mother to use later. Mother takes down the great mosquito net the family has slept under, folds up the quilts, and brings out breakfast---tea, a thin soup, and sweet potatoes. Soon tea grounds and potato peels come flying out onto the ground in rapid succession. A chicken walks in from a neighbor's yard, pecks diffidently at a potato peel, and walks on, leaving a token of gratitude behind. The sun begins to warm the air and the flies to swarm around the toilet behind the house, into the kitchen, across the remains of the family's meal in the main room, and around the scraps in front. Father goes to work and the older children go to school. Mother washes the dishes at the well, in cold water without soap, and leaves them to dry in the sun. Flies light on them.

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The visitor looks into the toilet. It is an oil drum with a platform over it and a wood and canvas shelter over that. The cover is off.

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514 The drum is nearly full and its surface is in constant motion, a seething
 343 mass of maggots. One of those men with the carts that cause you to cross
 [364] to the other side of the road will come in a few days to dump it, he hopes.
 524 He crosses the yard and is invited into the house. He takes off his shoes
 751 and steps up onto the floor. It is surprisingly clean, he finds. A mat is
 [384] spread and he sits cross-legged upon it. Tea is offered and he accepts, thinking that it must have been made from boiled water. He learns later that he was wrong. He is given a fan and perceives that its function is keeping the flies away as much as it is creating a breeze. In a spirit of friendly cooperation he and Grandfather take turns shooting the flies off the broken chunks of black sugar that have been placed before them. A larger blue-bottle fly enters and someone makes a special effort to chase it out. Should the visitor be so crude and impolite as to mention flies and in connection with the toilet, it will be pointed out that only the blue-bottle flies are hatched from the maggots in the toilet. The smaller black house-flies simply produce more flies and hence are harmless.

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Bananas are served and the peels follow those of the potatoes out onto the ground. Smaller children run in and out. One child comes in with its nose running. After a time Mother pulls up its shirt tail and wipes the mucus off the upper lip. The child has not been well; Mother or Grandmother may take it to the yabuu, who will burn moxa on its skin at the proper places. A neighbor's child walks by; its face and nearly hairless head are
 [753] mass of scabs and its eyes are almost shut by pus. Someone laughingly explains that this is what happens when you don't cut a baby's buttocks properly with a razor to draw out the bad blood.

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The visitor is urged to take more tea and sugar. He is complimented on his interest in Okinawa and is asked innumerable questions about America. The family is eager for knowledge and for further contact. As he rises to leave, he is urged to return. He puts on his shoes, finding one slightly damp from the poor aim of the youngest child. He is cautioned to wear his hat and knows by now the unspoken fear---encephalitis---caused by too much exposure to the sun. He notices that around the well where Mother has been doing laundry a great pool of water is gradually sinking into the sand. As he picks his way across the yard he wonders if the family would not be better off living in a houseboat, preferably in a fast-moving stream.

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Such are some of the features of Okinawan life. Yet it would be a mistake to assume that there are no standards of sanitation. There are; they are simply narrower than those of most Americans. Many Okinawans do throw garbage out their front doors as indicated above, but it is also true that the floor of the house is usually cleaner than many American floors. It has to be clean; people sit on it and sleep on it. People take off their shoes before stepping up onto it or if they have been to the fields barefooted they may wash their feet before stepping up onto it. But the area of cleanliness ends with the step. Beyond the step is a different sort of territory. Yet even in the yard there is a limit to the amount of trash that may be allowed to accumulate before it is swept away. The practice of urinating in the yard is distasteful to the American observer, but there is perhaps less basis for objection to it as a health hazard. Urine is relatively harmless. Feces, however, go into the toilet. If an untrained child defecates in the yard usually someone cleans up the spot.

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52 The general characteristics of the changed entertainment patterns
 178 have been a greater reliance on entertainment provided by sources outside
 621 the village---the school, radio, movies---and a sharp decline in celebrations
 and festivals of the sort which emphasized village participation and unity.

757 Health and Medicine Changes in medical practice well illustrate the
 178 principle that material things find more ready acceptance than ideas in the
 753 diffusion of culture; in short, Okinawans have been willing to adopt modern
 177 medicine when available, but not modern medical principles. Pills, shots,
 surgery, dentistry, penicillin, and DDT have found acceptance, while modern
 scientific concepts of disease, health, and sanitation seem to have made
 relatively little headway. The germ theory, for example, has barely pene-
 trated.

753 However, on talking to people of different ages one becomes aware
 751 that many changes in standards of sanitation and ideas about health and dis-
 177 ease actually have taken place in the last fifty years. For example, evidence
 of the practice of tattooing various parts of the body as a cure for certain
 ills is rarely seen on persons under seventy. Similarly, though many of the
 younger generation may appear abysmally ignorant of modern knowledge of dis-
 ease, they are always less ignorant and better informed than the preceding
 generation. Considerable progress toward better sanitation was made under the
 [34] Japanese. Formerly the Okinawan privy was built atop the pigpen, and the pig
 [35] subsisted in part on human feces. Stern measures were required to force the
 abandonment of this practice. The Japanese also introduced monthly sanitation
 inspections; inoculations for babies and school children were made compulsory.
 • [515] Through the influence of the schools the toothbrush (usually one) became a
 [582] part of every home. The Japanese also sent notable scholars into the country-
 side to lecture the people on the dangers of in-breeding practices, partic-
 ularly kin-group endogamy.

757 Penicillin, which was introduced by the Americans, has become a pop-
 177 ular treatment, achieving equality with moxocautery and cutting to let blood.
 It can be obtained easily at any drug shop, and every doctor, midwife,
 herbalist, and practitioner of any sort is prepared to administer shots. Re-
 liance excessive even by American standards is placed on this drug. There
 seems, in fact, to be a fondness for shots which does not end with penicillin;
 hormone shots and various other injections are widely advertised. It is the
 opinion of the author that any type of modern medicine which cuts, punctures,
 or otherwise disfigures the skin will find ready acceptance; this, it is felt,
 is merely an extension of the tradition of acupuncture, moxocautery, tattoo-
 ing, and cutting. Bettelheim states that in the 1850's the Okinawans made
 inquiries as to how inoculations for smallpox might be obtained.¹

759 There is some indication that the yabu, a practitioner whose chief
 178 stocks-in-trade are herbs and moxocautery, is slowly disappearing; in several
 communities the author was told that since the old yabu died there had been
 no replacement.

¹ Bettelheim, B. J., Loochoo Mission, London, n.d., pp. 34-36.

464 usually people tend to regard these persons as fortunate. During the entire
 562 course of the author's stay on Okinawa he heard no sharp criticism of men who
 829 were in military employment, yet many statements were heard about women who
 were so employed. This dichotomy seems to stem from the widely held belief
 that the American employers have sexual access to these women, particularly
 [183] the maids. Okinawan culture affords its males a high degree of sexual free-
 dom, but not its females.

464 It is said that the women who are employed by the military are cate-
 554 gorized into several grades; the highest status is accorded to the office
 workers and PX clerks. These are followed by the kitchen and table maids,
 after which comes the maids who are employed in the dependent housing units;
 lastly there are the barracks maids, including those of the bachelor officers'
 and civilians' quarters. It is also claimed that these women can be dis-
 tinguished on the basis of their dress. Supposedly the office workers and
 PX girls dress in the fashion of Japanese business women, whereas the housing
 [29] and barracks maids dress in American styles which are considered loud and
 [107] flashy.

464 It is claimed that many young men will not marry women who have been
 534 maids in military installations. One young man asserted that these women were
 582 no better than the "honeys" (a term used by Okinawans and GI's to designate
 the soldier's mistress).

464 The low status and pay (¥1200-1800, or \$10-15 per month) for maids is
 466 offset to a large extent by the gifts, food, and in many cases board which
 they receive from their employers. Despite the stigma there is no shortage
 [46] of applicants for these jobs. Another factor is the free bathing privileges
 which ordinarily accompany these jobs. Very few Okinawan homes have a bath,
 [515] and public baths cost the equivalent of ten cents in American money, a size-
 able outlay for the Okinawan purse.

464 Most of the discrimination is directly attributable to the sexual
 554 jealousy of the Okinawan male toward the women who work and often live in
 829 close daily contact with Americans. There also seems to be some discrimina-
 tion against any women in the category of maid, whether employed by American
 or Okinawan; in the past these were often indentured servants who had been
 sold by their parents into this low status.

186 Okinawan Attitudes toward Their American Employers It was the author's im-
 829 pression that even those
 who had worked in close daily contact with Americans for a considerable period
 of time shared much the same stereotypes of the American as those held by the
 general public. It must be remembered that the points of emphasis in any
 stereotype are often those traits which seem obvious because they are so un-
 familiar and hence not understood by the person of a different culture.
 Secondly, in every stereotype there is undoubtedly some considerable measure
 of truth; the important factor is the base of reference. Both Americans and
 Okinawans judge one another on the basis of different values and cultural
 backgrounds.